1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

/136 cont./

162 The approximate number of Auin, naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300 persons
Dawis	" 150 "
Stampriet	" 250 "
Rooigrauwater	" 50 "
Korikas	" 150 "
Olifantskloof	" 200 "
Habakobis	" 100 "
Rietfontein	" 200 "
Tjumda	" 100 "
Go	" 150 "
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000 "
Karasburg	" 100 "
Epukiro	" 100 "
Ganab	" 100 "
Gam	" 100 "
Total	about 3,000 persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

165 I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words, not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since 161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

648 It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

144 No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

● 162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children: Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children: Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year affords no practical protection against a new conception.

The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[19 cont.]

●162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
347 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

DIAGRAM 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

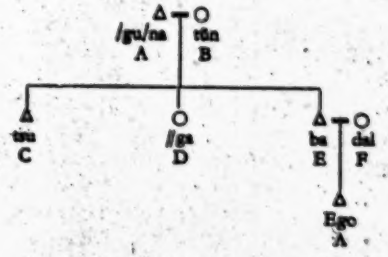
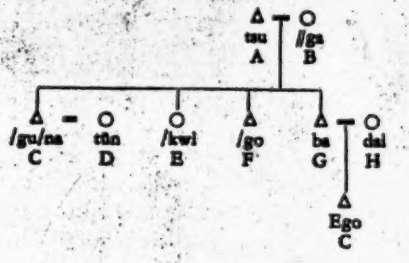


DIAGRAM 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 [131] The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

● 162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kũng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsi* grows. *Tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsi* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsi* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty* and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in !Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

619 To this group belong also the few Bushmen in the south-east of South-West Africa, of whom may be mentioned the */auni* in the waterless regions of the Lower Nossob and the */nu||en* (called */nusan* by the Nama Hottentots) in the Upper Nossob and Auhoup valleys. Some of these still lead a more or less independent life, but the majority are in the service of interdwelling Bantu, Hottentots, and Bastards.[1] Further east, in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate, other Bushmen of the same group are found in the service of the BeChwana among whom they live. They have no special name for themselves, and are known simply as *MaSarwa*, the Chwana term for all Bushmen.[2]

The tribes of the NORTHERN GROUP inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke in the north-east of South-West Africa, including part of the Kaukauveld and the Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into Bechuanaland Protectorate, and on the north into Angola.

In the south of this region, between Sandfontein and Gam, are found the *||Kau ||en*, called *ǂaukwe* by the Central Bushmen, *ǂausan* by the Nama, *MaKaukau* by the neighbouring Bantu, and commonly spoken of as the *Auen*. They are one of the few Bushman tribes still living in comparative independence, and appear to have retained their original mode of life and organization to a considerable extent, though not without a few traces of foreign influence. Their numbers [162] at the present time are estimated at between 500 and 600.[3]

Immediately north of them, and speaking a closely-related language, live the *!Khū* or *!Kuŋ*, commonly called *Kung*, one of the largest and most independent of the Bushman tribes.[4] Their tribal name means simply "persons, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushmen" to them. They occupy the whole north-east corner of South-West Africa, extending from about Grootfontein

[1] D. F. Bleek, in *Festschrift Meinhof*, 56–7; *idem*, *Comp. Voc.*, 2–3; Papst, "Die Kalahariwüste und ihre Bewohner," *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Jena*, xiv (1895), 48–54; J. F. Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area* (Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 53–1908).

[2] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 650–78.

[3] The fullest account of this tribe is by H. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAuin, Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 135–60; cf. also Müller, "Ein Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," *D. KolBl.*, xxxiii (1912), 530–41.

[4] H. Werner, "Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; H. Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kū-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke in den Jahren 1910–12," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; von Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 1–7; V. Lebzelter, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der *||Khun*-Buschmänner," *Festschrift P.W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, 407–15; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten am oberen Omuramba und Ovambo (Südwestafrika)," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer [12]–[16].

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in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the */Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names */gei /kū*, "red people," or */o /kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or */O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kub- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *ǂganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups.

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal.

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Samberi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

582 The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoreb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
● 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 sqq., 31–2; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–5; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies follow in rapid succession during the course of married life but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
●162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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●162
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[p. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, too dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

• 162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life. (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with their European ard Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

177 411 415 291 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manufacture for at least 40 years.

• 162 433 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting, there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

[114]
[193] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

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563 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauŝa Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauŝa, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
• 162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1] Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
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162 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
241 dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
197 have the institution of the name relationship.
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The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ" meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, ǂKũng, ᶜhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, ǃun, !Kung.

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[162] this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph

[177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

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166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
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312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
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162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312 Dobe was counted as follows:
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October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 Similar variations in group structure were observed at
312 all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of
[221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen
161 divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes
• 162 ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

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161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
• 162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
• 162

No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	T
1.	Dobe(B)	n≠eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	≠qma/xgwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau≠dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!qausa(B)	n≠isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	≠oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	≠omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kurmmehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
• 162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu. These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families, numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception, is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

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361 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

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824 2. Point resources - In Map 15, the picture of land utilization was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole.
• [162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše.
[162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17,.p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauŝa Pan (not to be confused with /Gauŝa Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauŝa Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local
• [162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident
[648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with
[136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauŝa there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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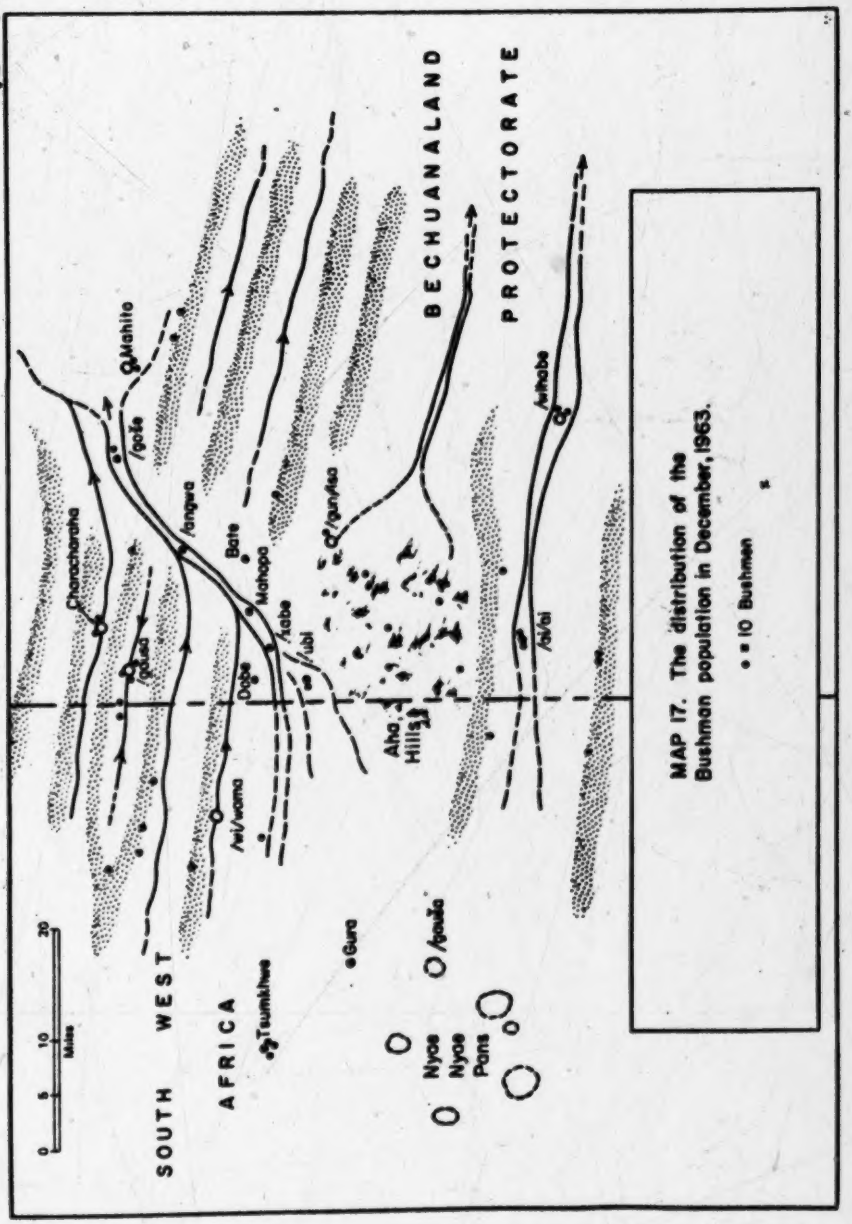

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
• [162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964). p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
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222 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer
months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi
and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and
X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C.
naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes
first followed by six other species). By the time the plums
have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the
melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of
six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different
time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of
summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating.
Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts
are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's
fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of
nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the
camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering
habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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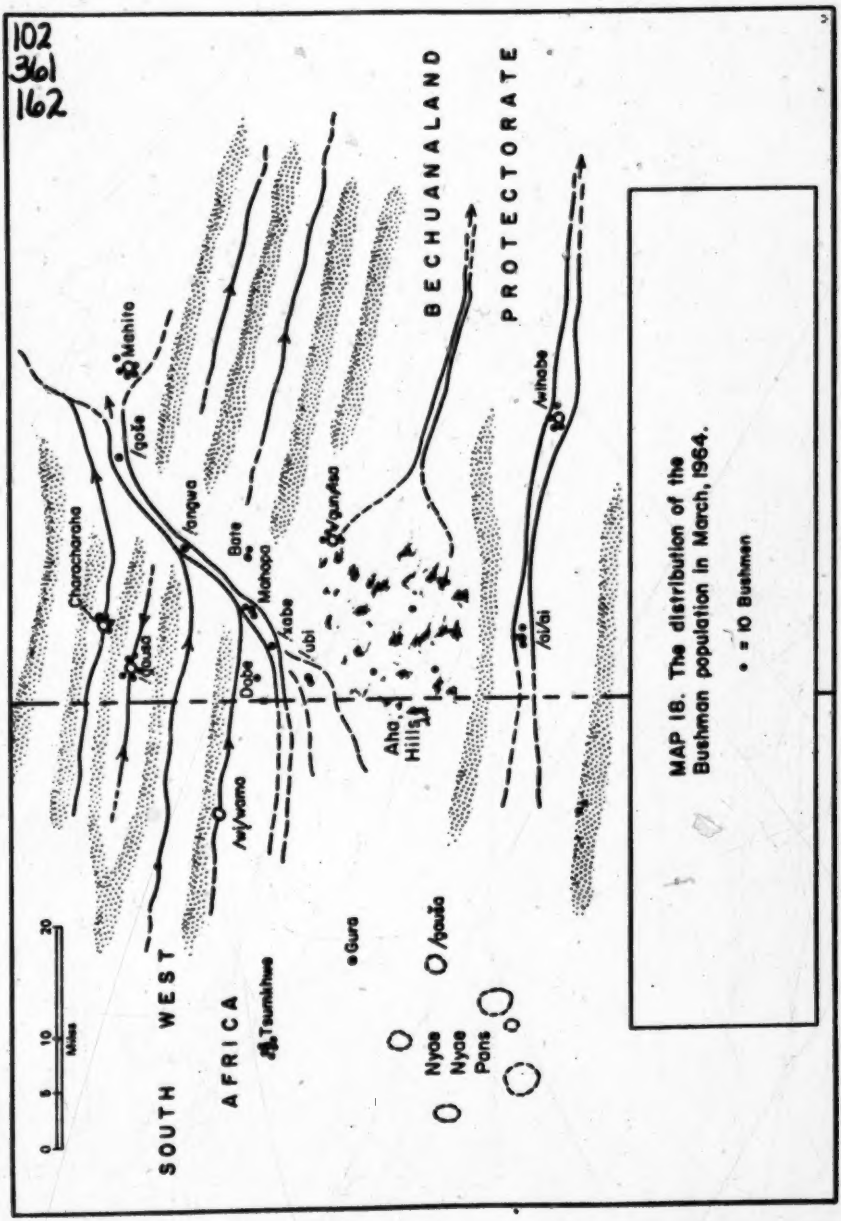
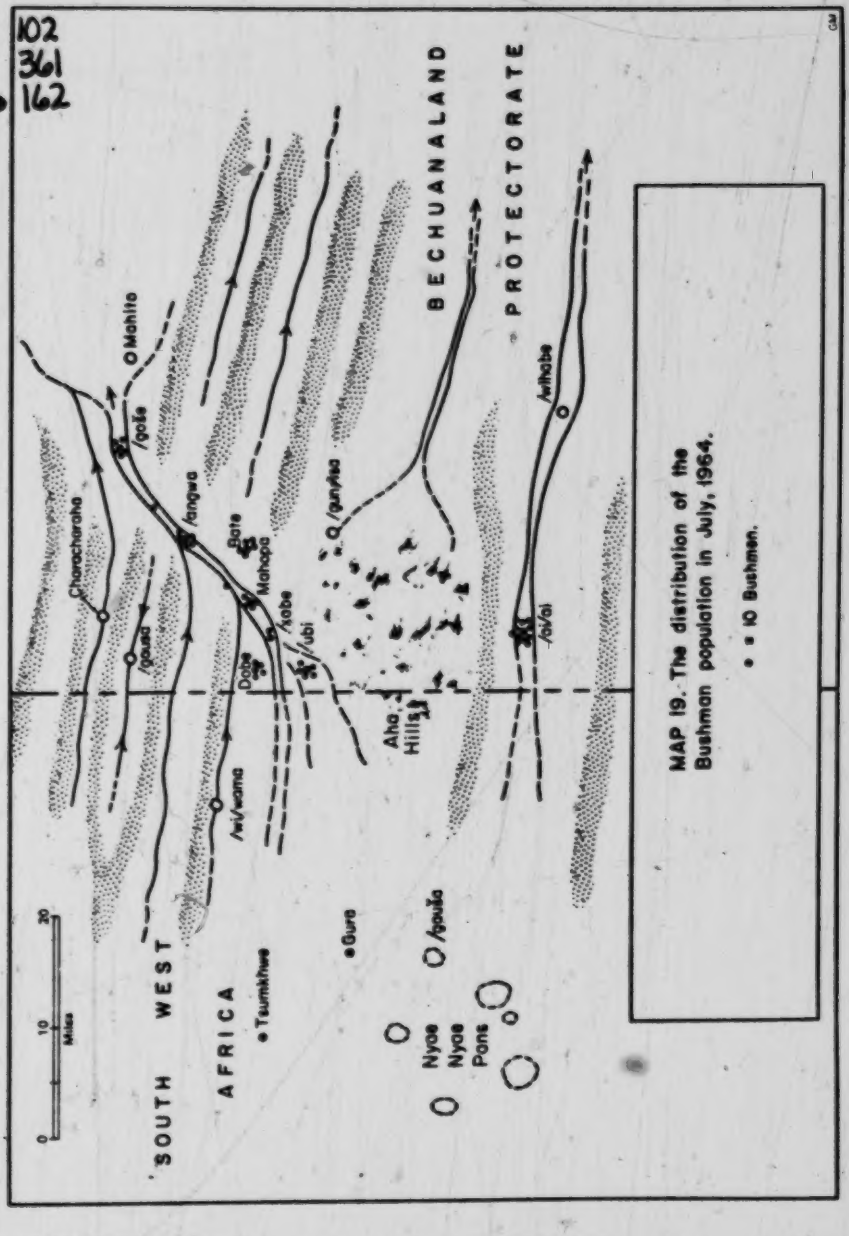


16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung



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[162]
[361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[23] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

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162 density at ca. 43 persons per 100 square miles, or two-and-a-half square miles per person. This is a rather high density figure for desert-living hunters and gatherers. The higher figure is partly due to the fact that it represents the ratio of population to the actual land area utilized. This is a more meaningful way of expressing density than is a figure based on the ratio of population to the total land area that it appears to occupy. For instance, on a map, the Dobe area covers about 2,700 square miles; but the Bushmen actively utilize less than 40 per cent of this area. It is suggested that estimates of population density for other hunting and gathering peoples would give accordingly higher values if the criterion of actual use was employed in the calculation.

Conclusion

433 These eight lines of evidence constitute the case for a revision of the anthropological view of the Bushmen. Their way of life is not impoverished or precarious. Considering the environment in which they live, the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence. The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face. One can speculate that their

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mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined.

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration.

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical

[1] Laing, op. cit., 906–7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi–xxiii (1924–6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

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times Bushmen were living in districts from which they have now completely disappeared, or where perhaps only a few individuals still survive. This is the case in Natal, Basutoland, Orange Free State, and especially the Cape, in all of which, as recently as the middle of last century, the Bushmen were still fairly numerous.

But the encroachment of later invading peoples gradually ousted them from the more favourable districts which they occupied. First the Hottentots, advancing south along the west coast, drove them from the fertile plains to the mountain fastnesses of the interior. Then the Bantu, pressing down the east coast, overcame the fierce resistance of the little people upon whose ancient hunting grounds they trespassed. Other Bantu tribes, traversing the interior of the country, came into conflict with the Bushmen in the arid plains north and south of the Orange River and the Vaal and in the rugged mountains to the east. The European settler, in his turn pushing north and east and seeking fresh pastures for his growing herds, waged an equally relentless war against them. Before each successive invader the Bushmen, where they were not forcibly exterminated, had eventually to seek refuge in more unfavourable and inaccessible parts.[1]

At the present time they are found living principally in the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and in the northern half of South-West Africa. On the north they extend into South-East Angola up to about 15 degrees S. latitude, on the east into the Tuli and adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, on the south into the region of the Nossob and Molopo Rivers, and on the west to the Etosha Pan in South-West Africa. Small isolated remnants are also met with in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, in the coastal province of Mossamedes in South-West Angola, and in the Namib desert strip along the coast of South-West Africa.

Everywhere else the Bushmen have been either exterminated, expelled, or incorporated racially by later invaders, although stray individuals may still be seen occasionally in the north-west districts of the Cape and sporadically in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is only in the Kalahari Desert and the north-eastern parts of South-West Africa that they still retain to any degree their original mode of life and organization. Even here they have all been affected to some

[1] A vivid account of the vain resistance offered by the Bushmen to the peoples encroaching upon them, and of the relentless manner in which they were persecuted, is given by Stow, op. cit., especially in chaps. ix–xii. Cf. also K. Barthel, "Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents," *Mitt. Ver. Erdk. Leipzig*, 1893, pp. 8–20.

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extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld.

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained.

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek,

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

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on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.